16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

621 613 551 only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

621 613 601 602 Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

621 613 The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

621 594 The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

17: Tanoous S, G-5 fea. 1947-48\1949 MEI Lebanon MEJ

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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عيلة). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is being identified, the word *beyt* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference *'eyli*, in Munqif as among urban dwelling Muslims of Syria (Daghestani, 1952, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and for kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

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It is the firm impression of the present writer that in Munqif it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of other writers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1944, p. 337) and Weulersse (1946, pp. 216–17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Munqif, assuming that the interpretation given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division of opinion may be based, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenstadter has recently reported (1952, pp. 382–83) a specific case of the extended family among acculturated Egyptian Muslim villagers.

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Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the Core Group consists of eighty-seven households, each an independent residence unit. The alternative figure, eighty-nine, indicates the fact that in winter, two of the households are each split into two independent households. In summer, these pairs—they are brothers—and their families live together in the village; in winter they live separately in Beirut. These are two or four residence units depending on the season.

Of this total of independent households only two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commuter), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that all the rest are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of these two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant whether extended families existed or ever had existed in Munqif. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have them in Munqif, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and her son's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always enemies because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About this *hamab-hirnah* trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers